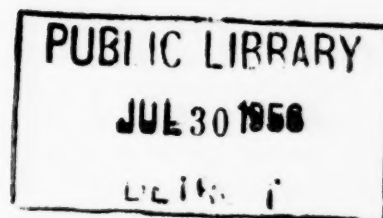


# CHRISTIANITY and CRISIS

*A Bi-Weekly Journal of Christian Opinion*



## From Popular to Personal Diplomacy

It has become fashionable to point to the world around us exclaiming with prophetic flourish, "The old truths and ancient ways are obsolete. This is a revolutionary age, and social and political institutions must be recast."

At one level change is of course inescapable; we never step twice into the same stream. Moreover, this truth, going back before Heraclitus, has felt the sharp spur of twentieth century technology, warfare and political ideology. These factors have made a carousel of man's social experiences. Indeed, "the pace of history in our era is so swift that only the most agile can adjust their imaginations to the rapidly changing scene." Yet the root problem of history remains what it has always been, namely, identifying the elements of change, separating them out from the forces which make for continuity. It is the problem of determining when we are on *terra incognita* and when we can make our way in sight of landmarks from the past.

The problem for modern man is nowhere more poignant than in the realm of international diplomacy. Here far-reaching changes have swept aside time-worn practices. For nearly four centuries the statecraft of Europe had certain salient features. It sought, in theory at least, to mitigate and reduce conflicts by persuasion, compromise and adjustment. It was rooted in the community of interests of a small group of leaders who spoke the same language, catered to each other as often as to their own people, and played to one another's strengths and weaknesses. When warfare broke out, they drew a ring around the combatants and sought to neutralize the struggle. The old diplomacy, so-called, carried on its tasks in a world made up of states that were small, separated, limited in

power and blessed, ironically enough, by half-hearted political loyalties. Patience was a watchword and negotiations were often as protracted during war as in peace. It was taken for granted that talks would be initiated, broken off, resumed, discontinued temporarily, and reopened again by professionals in whose lexicon there was no substitute for "diplomacy."

Today not one of these conditions any longer prevails and the search for new formulas in diplomacy has gone on apace. The first and most novel pattern to crystallize after World War II found expression in the United Nations and in what is called popular diplomacy. It looked to international forums and to majority votes in the General Assembly as a substitute for the tortuous paths of traditional diplomacy. It must be said that this choice was expressed more rigorously in practice than in the United Nations Charter which emphasized talks among the parties to a dispute before placing an issue on the agenda. Popular diplomacy reflects the faith in parliamentary procedures, the rule of the people and in straight-forward, rational and open discussion. It is jointly the product of an age of rationalism and an age of popular government. It translates into global terms supreme political attainments of free people within the democratic state. Popular diplomacy, despite the role of the Great Powers in the Security Council, marks a swing of the pendulum to diplomacy by all the peoples of most of the nations. It is the antithesis of secret diplomacy by a concert of leaders of the pre-eminent countries.

Because popular diplomacy is the keyboard on which much of our postwar diplomacy has been played, we are able to make a modest estimate of

its success. To use Lester Pearson's phrase, we find that the problems of "diplomacy in a gold fish bowl" are more intractable than we had supposed. Publicity has been both a virtue and a vice. It has kept the spotlight of public opinion on world affairs, but it has encouraged the actor in world politics, in striking a pose, to take inflexible positions from which it is difficult to retreat. Majority votes on Korea have demonstrated who controlled greater support; they have left conflicts of interest unaffected or have actually contributed to their increase. When this new pattern of diplomacy has worked, it has been savored with more ancient techniques as with the private diplomacy of Mr. Ralph Bunche in Palestine, Mr. Jessup on Berlin and the "quiet diplomacy" of the Secretary General.

These successes, however noteworthy, have failed to arrest the sharp swing of the pendulum to another type of international diplomacy. The Eisenhower Administration has espoused personal diplomacy as a means of correcting the excesses of public negotiations. The first Geneva Conference, the United States-Canadian-Mexican Conference at White Sulphur Springs, the forthcoming Latin American discussions and a future meeting with Mr. Nehru illustrate a new and emerging pattern. It is a pattern based upon the President's partiality "for talking things out rather than negotiating things out" in an atmosphere of genial informality. It reflects the view that some of the roots of conflict will dissolve when leaders from other nations, sitting across a table from Mr. Eisenhower, become persuaded of his good intentions. The personal touch of a famous personality has been placed on the scales of world diplomacy.

Thus the two novel approaches — personal and parliamentary diplomacy — are at opposite poles of the spectrum. One emphasizes public speeches, mass assemblies, and resolutions emerging from open forums; the other stresses informality and man-to-man conferences free of protocol, agendas, and advance preparation. (At White Sulphur Springs the Canadians on the eve of the Conference didn't know the topics to be discussed.) Yet these new patterns, so divergent in conception and design, share one thing in common. They constitute a revolt against traditional diplomacy.

For diplomatists historically the first rule has been that negotiations were essential when national interests were in conflict. Since such conflicts arise

from causes more basic than personal hostility, personal amiability can hardly resolve them. Sir Harold Nicolson has argued: "Diplomacy is the art of negotiating documents in a ratifiable and dependable form. It is by no means the art of conversation . . . produces allusiveness, compromises and high intentions. Diplomacy if it is ever to be effective, should be a disagreeable business, and one recorded in hard print."

Moreover, personal diplomacy runs the gamut of present-day American policy. Mr. Henry M. Wriston in a brilliant paper, "The Secretary of State Abroad," in the current issue of *Foreign Affairs* discusses both the dividends and the "Irish dividends" (deficits) at another executive level. He warns against personalizing national issues.

The trouble with approaches that set aside the lessons of the past is that history has a way of returning to haunt us. Both popular and personal diplomacy have their place, especially if we safeguard them against their excesses. The best way of doing this is to remember that foreign policy has a memorable tradition, not all of which is folly in the present.

KENNETH W. THOMPSON

## AMERICAN AID TO INDIA

*The following is reprinted from the Notes of The Guardian (April 5, 1956) of Madras, India. We print it because of its relevance at this time.*

UNITED STATES administrative authorities are summoning the U.S. Ambassador to India to persuade the U.S. Congress, with his help, to sanction the 70 million dollar aid proposed for India this year, a long-term aid plan for India involving 500 million dollars altogether. It is reported that prospects of long-term U.S. aid to India have been "dimmed by Indian Prime Minister Nehru's continuing criticisms of Western defense pacts."

The Minister for Iron and Steel, Mr. Krishnamachara, said sometime ago that it is not unnatural for a country which gives something to expect something in return. Some American Congressmen might sit up and question the wisdom of sending millions of dollars to India when Indian leaders keep criticizing American policies. Such criticism is taken by them as evidence of India's half-hearted friendliness or lack of any friendliness towards America. This perhaps explains also the smallness

of aid suggested by the Administration, which will not make a substantial difference to India's resources for the Five-year Plan.

The fact that in spite of all differences of opinion there has been a steady flow of aid from the U.S.A. to India is evidence of American leaders' and people's capacity to place their long-term interest and friendship with India above differences on current policy. However, any public expression of dissatisfaction in the U.S.A. over lack of "returns" from U.S. aid to India causes embarrassment both to India and the American sponsors of the aid.

India should not take the opinions of individual American Congressmen too seriously as different opinions are bound to come up in a debate. But the two countries need to arrive at an understanding over the importance and urgency of economic development of India and other Asian countries. Mr. Nehru emphasized recently that India would not be neutral in "vital matters." Strong, free democracies in Asia are vital for peace and freedom. By extending the fullest support to these nations—which means more substantial aid than proposed at present—the U.S.A. would be helping to lay foundations in Asia and at the same time strengthening her friendships with the countries now labelled "neutralist," "uncommitted," and so on.

This calls for bold action by the U.S. Congress. The American Ambassador to India as well as other statesmen have advocated such action. It will bring returns in goodwill for the U.S.A., though not in "military pacts" or elimination of criticism. Mr. Nehru's visit to Washington . . . should help in allaying American suspicions and fears. This is not to say, however, that India would be hopeless without American aid. At the worst her plans may be delayed by a year or so.

## RACE AND CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE

**T**WO LETTERS in a single mail from two young clergymen, viewing the race issue from opposite perspectives, combine to show the complexity of the issue. The one clergyman declares that if the attitude of the churches leaves something to be desired there ought to be a way for the church to avail itself of a special grace to overcome the difficulty.

The other young clergyman, however, is not at all sure that there is a defect to be remedied. He thinks that the attitude of Christians in many parts of the country is prompted by fear of "amalgama-

tion" of the races, and he thinks that concern for an uncorrupted white culture is protected by an inalienable "right." He has, in other words, no desire to be saved from anything.

What is wrong from one perspective seems eminently right from another perspective. That is the nature of the collective evils in which we are involved. The evil is the white man's arrogance. But this evil is the reverse side of concern for one's own peculiar culture. That concern has a limited justification but one cannot find it justified in the New Testament. There one finds only the terrible observation: "If any one says, 'I love God,' and hates his brother, he is a liar."

Much of our concern for our peculiar cultural values, our "Southern way of life," or "our American way of life" may be provisionally justified, but if the price of this devotion is hatred or contempt of the brother, the price is too high.

A religious experience of repentance and conversion is more efficacious in emancipating us of individual sins which defy common standards of decency than collective sins that are imbedded in these common standards. Many young people of the South have adopted new race attitudes through religious conversion. Others have changed their attitudes, not through a religious experience, but through rational analysis of the implications of their religious commitment and through social experiences which have slowly eroded the "mores" of their culture.

All forms of grace, common grace and saving grace, are necessary to redeem us of our collective sins. And every form of discernment is needed to preserve our common loyalties from becoming collective evils. All of us must have a measure of sympathy for those who bear the brunt in the problem of changing the segregation patterns, which are as old as our nation, between the two races. But we must also be aware that what we regard as a "Christian" civilization is generally regarded on the colored continents as a "white" civilization, having attached to it the odium of the white man's arrogance.

Surely it is easier to save us from the sins which we commit one by one than the sins in which we are collectively involved. Our collective sins are the real test of the redeeming efficacy of our Christian faith. To meet the test we need not only religious depth, but careful discrimination so that we can "separate the precious from the vile" in our loyalties and commitments.

R. N.



# Notes on Christian Responsibility and National Interest

JOHN C. BENNETT

*There is great confusion in the churches and in public discussion concerning the role of national interest as a basis for such policies as economic aid to other nations. Those who emphasize distinctively Christian motives fail to do justice to the inherent limits of the responsibility of a state as a state. Those who claim that all national policy must be based upon national interest alone do not distinguish between the basis of policy and the actual motives among citizens and even among those who must implement policy. National interest cannot be ultimate for churches or Christian citizens.*

*In order to indicate some complexities of the problem which are often neglected and in the hope of provoking some fresh thought about it, I have formulated the propositions which follow:*

A government as trustee for a nation has to base its foreign policies primarily on a broad view of national interest. The real conflict is between those who have a narrow and short-sighted view of national interest and those who have a long-range imaginative view of the same.

The church and Christian citizens in their motives should be controlled by God's love for all mankind, but as citizens they must work through government recognizing its special responsibilities.

Often the problem is not a conflict between national interest and the interests of other nations but a conflict between national interest broadly understood and particular interests within the nation, the interests of a region, of a segment of the economy or of a particular industry.

A distinction might be made between national interest as an indicator of the policy for a government to follow and the actual motives of the people who support such a policy. The policy should be capable of support from a mixture of motives—both an enlightened view of national interest and an outgoing concern for the people in other nations.

Nations that are tempted to engage in idealistic crusades need to be guided by considerations of prudence to make sure that the crusade will not destroy the very things which it may be intended to serve (a crusade to unify Korea or to liberate satellites as a matter of moral duty would be examples), and a broad view of national interest is here a good rule of thumb to prevent such ventures. Some of the most persuasive defenses of national interest have been in this context. National interest does set limits to the range of action; idealistic crusading can be limitless, perhaps limitlessly destructive.

There should be an emphasis on large areas of mutual interest. Fortunately, in such matters as economic aid there is no difficulty in tracing the pattern of mutual interest.

There is an intangible national interest which can be recognized in varying degrees by the citizens of a nation with a Christian background of humane ethics in the achievement of social justice as between nations. On the surface this may be no more than a greater sense of political security, but wherever people know each other across national boundaries, more satisfying human relations become possible.

Those who administer a policy of economic aid must be persons who actually care about the welfare of the people among whom they work.

If the public interpretation of what we do suggests that the nation as nation is controlled primarily by generosity, this is likely to be taken cynically and to arouse resentment rather than gratitude.

If the public interpretation of national interest suggests that we are looking for an immediate *quid pro quo*, that we want the nations which we aid to be satellites or even parts of our defense system, this will also arouse resentment and will prove to be based upon a misconception of national interest. Our major concern should be to help such nations develop political, economic and social health as a part of the health of the free world. Respect for them and their independence of us is essential.

The church as church should have its own programs which can be symbols of the identification of American Christians with other peoples.

The church as church should help its members realize that policies which are based upon mutual interest should be supported even if they involve

personal sacrifice. They should also help to provide the type of personnel that is required for the implementation of such policies.

The church as church should help the nation and the government see themselves under God and in relations of solidarity with other nations. This can help to stretch the consciousness of mutual interest. It can improve the intangible attitudes which accompany policy, attitudes of respect and of human concern. It can at times prepare the way for actions in the face of vividly understood human need which sometimes enables a government, on the basis of a very broad consensus, to go beyond considerations of national interest, though this can hardly be the normal basis for policy.

We cannot assume that there will always be obvious

harmony between a broad view of national interest and the general welfare of mankind, though there will always be mutual interest in peace and conditions favorable to freedom and in worldwide economic health. At times particular problems may arise, such as the relation of a nation to its colonies and certain crucial trade problems, which involve very deep moral conflict for the church and the Christian citizen. In such cases it may be necessary for Christians to take positions which involve the reshaping of national life at a considerable sacrifice. We may be thankful that at present on the larger issues it is so easy to discover harmony between national interest and Christian responsibility and that it is sufficient to oppose narrow and short-sighted views of national interest.

## Freedom – a Permanent Issue

FREEDOM IS one of the most priceless elements in our country's moral heritage. Our possession of it, in the form symbolized by the First Amendment to the Constitution, is the basis of a strong argument for our ways of life against those of communism. But to what do we owe our freedom? Why are we not using it more fruitfully? Are we in danger of losing it? These questions have been made more real for me by the experiences of the last two years, spent partly in Europe and the Near East, and partly at home. What follows in this article grows out of an endeavor to answer these questions.

### From the Top Down

I left the United States in the summer of 1954 with a live interest in the issue of freedom because of the controversy over civil liberties associated with the name of Senator McCarthy. I began to see the issue in a new context as a result of a casual experience in trying to get a draft cashed at an Austrian bank. When I was turned down by the bank I consulted an American official. He said, "I will see the head of the bank. It is no use to see anyone else. Everything here is run from the top down."

I referred to this incident afterwards in a small group where a member of the British diplomatic

service was present. He said, "Your American representative told you the truth. Everything in this society is run from 'the top' down. In politics here you vote for the party, not for the candidates, and you will find that the party executives control pretty rigidly the votes of party members in Parliament."

As time went on the different ways in which "the top" had given this society its character became more clear. The army, the church and the bureaucracy—all had had a part. Over all had been the monarchy. In an Austrian club an elderly member of the old aristocracy wept as he stood with me in front of a picture of the former emperor, Francis Joseph, a ruler who had "always believed in his right . . . to enforce an absolute system and to be sole judge of his people's welfare." Your invitation to a reception or dinner may still be couched in language which assumes your genteel origin. Deference for those above is symbolized by the way students rise from their seats when the university professor enters or leaves the classroom.

When after five months I went on to Istanbul I found another society in which deference was playing a great part. Only here the direction of deference was determined by the inherited Moslem scheme of life, modified to a considerable degree by Kemal Ataturk and his secular-minded successors. Let me illustrate.

On a later occasion I asked a Turkish educator

Justin Wroe Nixon is Professor Emeritus of Colgate Rochester Divinity School.

what were the most encouraging and the most discouraging aspects of his work. He said that the most encouraging aspect was the eagerness of the people for education. The government could not begin to keep up with the demand for schools. The most discouraging aspect was the slowness with which the people grasped what democracy required. "If I give our teachers an order," he said, "and tell them that it comes from the government, they will obey it. They love orders. But if I ask a group to prepare a program, or make recommendations about improving the building or the course of study, they are baffled." "Your democracy in America," he went on, "depends on a long experience of people working together, making up their minds together, adjusting and compromising, and then being loyal to a plan after it has been adopted. Our people lack such an experience. Our democracy, accordingly, will be a slow development."

A fragment of the old Turkish background, against which this educator had to work, I saw in a town in Anatolia. The town was full of people for it was a big market day. When we called on the mayor we found him very busy. But he was the soul of courtesy. In fact, everyone was. The mayor's clerk kept coming in with papers for him to sign. The clerk bowed as he entered the room and he kept bowing as he brought the papers to the mayor's desk. When the clerk left the room he backed out almost to the door, again bowing repeatedly as he went.

There is a forward movement of life in both Austria and Turkey. In both countries there are leaders determined to make out of their peoples viable modern states inspired by democratic ideals. But coming from the West I felt that I was having an experience of returning to the past somewhat like that of the twentieth century hero of John Balderston's fantasy, "Berkeley Square," when he discovers that the occupants of his London house back in the eighteenth century are still living there. Deferences that give life its direction have been in eastern and east-central Europe since the days of the Byzantine empire. The cultural soil of the area is still saturated with them. And older than Byzantium was the cult of the "god-emperor," suggested by an inscription to Augustus "the divine," which the traveller can still read on a stone amid the ruins of ancient Ephesus.

It was a mild-mannered Britisher who reminded me how much alive the ancient deferences still were in western Europe. He told me it was too bad that we Americans had abolished the kingship.

For Christ the King needs an earthly counterpart whose position and person remind the people of their divine head, who alone has ultimate authority to rule. I never realized before how blasphemous the Declaration of Independence must have seemed to many pious subjects of European rulers in the eighteenth century.

With all the changes that have occurred in Western society I am grateful for fleeting glimpses of the world out of which we have come. Authority proceeding from "the top" down, rulers who were religious as well as political figures, orders that became deposits of belief and practice, and deferential obedience on the part of the people—they set the tone of that world. The system of Russian communism is only the old Eurasian system operating from "the top" down, revitalized by a revolution that tapped new sources of energy among the people, and cross-fertilized by Marxian ideology.

### The Ways of Freedom

During the period of almost a year while I was abroad I reflected often on the advantages we enjoy at home through certain ways of life that have developed among us. Some of these ways underscored by my experience are the following.

First, the separation of church and state. We may call it "benevolent separation" as Anson Phelps Stokes does, but religion and government can have no organic connection. Second, our religious groups live together in a kind of balance of power without any of them being predominant. This too is conducive to social and spiritual health. Third, we are still prone, as DeTocqueville noted over a century ago, to create voluntary organizations for every purpose under the sun. We do not automatically invoke the powers of government for the solution of our problems. Fourth, there is an appeal to reason among us, going back to the founding fathers and the influence of the Enlightenment, and made practical by generations of frontier existence and the mixing of the peoples here. This appeal modifies the control of established authorities in church and state. Fifth, there is the habit of discussion at the grass-roots that still creates the public opinion whose rule James Bryce found to be more complete here than anywhere else. It is a public opinion generated not merely at the top but at the bottom and especially through the middle of our predominantly middle-class society.

There are other deep-going forces of man's nature.  
(Continued on page 104)





## Saint Hereticus

### A Layman's Handy Guide to Ecclesiastical Infirmities

In these days when doctors diagnose the life-expectancy of patients they have not examined and imply that a succession of operations is a sure sign of good health, it is only natural that one like myself should turn from the subject of physical frailties to that of ecclesiastical infirmities. Consequently for the benefit of those who feel too secure spiritually, I have compiled a list of some of the commoner maladies that beset church people. (In order to avoid unwarranted excursions into the realm of partisan politics, I have of necessity omitted several references to the disease known as elephantiasis.)

**cirrhosis of the giver** (*discovered ca. 34 A. D. by Ananias and Sapphira*), An acute nervous condition which renders the patient's hands immobile when he is called upon to move them (a) in the direction of wallet or purse, and thence (b) to the collection plate. Remedy: the patient may be removed from the environs of a house of worship on Sunday morning, since it is clinically observable that the condition does not recur in such surroundings as club houses at golf courses or in front of pari-mutuel windows. A more constructive remedy is to point out to the patient how many income tax deductions may be claimed by overcoming the malady.

**culinary thrombosis** (*discovered every Wednesday night by somebody*), A disease frequently contracted several hours after exposure to food served in basements of churches. In extreme cases, the disease is verbally manifest slightly *before* exposure. A voice, usually male, having made reference to a personal deity, will continue, "do we *have* to go to the church supper this week?" Palpitations of the heart, usually female, result, followed by an altercation. Remedy: (a) a new woman's committee at the church, (b) a local shortage of baked beans, (c) a mind-over-matter attitude on the part of the patient.

**polio** (*poll-io*), A disease to which certain types

of clergymen are addicted. Symptoms: general bustle and efficiency, coupled with extensive use of charts, graphs, statistics to indicate saturation points of denominational density in given locales, etc. The word itself is derived from the extensive use of "polls" (hence *poll-io*) in ascertaining data from which charts are made. In cases where patient is particularly efficient, the disease is sometimes known as galloping polio (often contracted to the colloquial form, "gallop poll"). Remedy: a prolonged exposure to Holy Writ, usually in small doses, will occasionally suffice to cure patient and remind him of his primary responsibilities.

**mastoid** (*mass-toyed*), Derived from an ancient root having to do with "toing" (or "toying" with the "mass." Very close in origin to *liturgyitus* (*q. v.* elsewhere). With clergymen, the disease usually manifests itself as a retrogression into the past, the revival of archaic forms of worship, and an attempt to argue that everything good happened before the third century. With laymen, opposite reactions are observed. Attempts to "toi" (or "toy") with the mass, or liturgy, usually involve innovations to make worship "modern" and "up to date." The connection, in the popular mind, of the disease with the human ear stems from the latter usage, since much stress is placed on audio, if not visual, aids. Remedy: when clergy and laity explain to each other what they are trying to accomplish (something which rarely happens) creative results can emerge.

**psychosis** (*sigh-cosis*), An affliction of Christians, who, when asked how they are, or how the world is, take only a gloomy view, and reply with a "psy" (or "sigh"). Believing that the whole weight of creation rests on their shoulders, they are never known to laugh. Remedy: adoption of the attitude of Martin Luther, who once wrote, "This morning I am leaving the entire universe in God's hands, and going fishing."

**neurosis** (*new-ro-sis*), A frightening disease, of which **mastoid** and **liturgyitus** are but variants. The patient's only criterion of truth is modernity, e.g., "Is it neu (or 'new')?" Symptoms include a violent distaste for the past, a refusal to swallow creedal formulas, and a rise in temperature in response to such words as "kenosis," "Calvin," and "Kierkegaard." The patient is sometimes described as **neurotic** (*new-ro-tic*), meaning that he rots away in newness, a notion which is considered dialectical enough even for this day and age. Remedy: see **polio**, above.

**frostbite** (*frost-bite*), A disease contracted when

REC'D  
JUN 30  
worshipping in strange churches, induced by the coldness of the regular attenders. Local variants include **Episcopalian frostbite**, **Presbyterian frostbite**, etc. Remedy: none known, save grace.

## FREEDOM—A PERMANENT ISSUE

(Continued from page 102)

ture and history by whose working his freedom is enhanced. But for the features of our national life which I have just mentioned my experience abroad has given me new respect. I cannot attempt to trace their origin. I can only confess that their continued presence as facts of our existence make this country to me a most important segment of the world's spiritual frontier. Whatever we may do with our opportunity to demonstrate the significance of freedom to mankind, the opportunity itself is extraordinary.

### The Authoritarian Threat

There are millions of people who grope for the freedom we enjoy. Why does our use of it often appear so unworthy? The variety of views which is the natural outgrowth of our freedom, magnified and compounded by our media of communication, produces two results. On the one hand, many simply shrug off the issues and acquiesce in the opinions of the people with whom they associate. On the other hand, this variety of views has the result of prompting many people to reach a conclusion through emotion. Again we have conformity, only now it is not a mild quiescent conformity but a militant and, it may be, a crusading conformity.

When we tire of thinking and debating we are likely to invoke an authority—the great man—and to seek a solution that may ignore many of the facts, but that satisfies our emotions. Here lies the opportunity of the demagogue. We saw this illustrated in the case of Senator McCarthy. The contrast between this state of mind and that of intelligent people in Europe could hardly be exaggerated.

Europe is full of people with terrible memories of swashbucklers who had ridden ruthlessly over the rights of individuals, imprisoned men on suspicion and wrung confessions from them under torture. McCarthy was no Hitler or Mussolini, but he reminded many people in Europe of what they wanted to forget. The more his star rose over here, the more the star of our freedom grew dim over there.

Though he is not a present force, the conditions which the Senator manipulated, so that he seemed to be the only man who was "doing anything about communism," are here for the next manipulator to use. The struggle now on over segregation illustrates the permanence of these issues. Here we see how floods of emotion can sweep over the safeguards in the ways of freedom that men have patiently built up over the years.

In western Europe and America an order of freedom has grown up which makes possible for the individual a much richer life. But the authoritarian ways are in danger of coming back on us as the jungle comes back on cultivated land when neglected. As far as our moral, and it may be our political, influence in the world is concerned we have almost everything at stake in the way we resolve the issue of freedom.

## CHRISTIANITY and CRISIS

*A Bi-Weekly Journal of Christian Opinion*

537 WEST 121 ST. • NEW YORK 27 • N. Y.

### EDITORIAL BOARD

REINHOLD NIEBUHR AND JOHN C. BENNETT, *Chairmen*  
WAYNE H. COWAN, *Managing Editor*  
ARNOLD W. HEARN, *Assistant Editor*

M. SEARLE BATES   WALDO BEACH   AMOS WILDER  
ROBERT McAFEE BROWN   F. ERNEST JOHNSON  
JOSEPH SITTLER   HENRY P. VAN DUSEN

### CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JAMES C. BAKER   FRANCIS P. MILLER   J. OSCAR LEE  
UMPHREY LEE   WILLIAM F. MAY   ROGER L. SHINN  
KENNETH W. THOMPSON   EDWARD L. PARSONS  
HENRY SMITH LEIPER   JOHN A. MACKAY  
LYNN HAROLD HOUGH

### CONTENTS

NOTES ON CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY AND NATIONAL  
INTEREST   JOHN C. BENNETT  
FREEDOM—A PERMANENT ISSUE   JUSTIN WROE NIXON  
A LAYMAN'S HANDY GUIDE TO ECCLESIASTICAL  
INFIRMITIES   ST. HERETICUS

Detroit Public Library  
Book Receiving Dept.  
5201 Woodward Ave.  
Detroit 2, Mich.

27462 11-56